252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are particularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun. Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.

272 484 [252] 262

231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs

262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones [563] who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [262] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[782] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

272 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes,

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

272 One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, especially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is
[411] bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

231 Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are considered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi ● [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have [262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but [231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [787] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the
● [262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the
[311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same
243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are
244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only
[252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

388 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
177 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

222 Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
262 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

241 The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima) in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 •262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
●262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

Their Food is Varied

262 [241] It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain [263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, [272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ [273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place 258 of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262 Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766 the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the
INYAMBO.

Taboos and Portents

784 Taboos (imiziro) and portents, good or bad, are innumerable. We must limit ourselves to a few samples without taking any account whatever of their rational classification, which would be at best a very difficult undertaking.

The appearance of an evil portent or the violation of a taboo make the Banyarwanda liable to misfortunes which vary in magnitude with the seriousness of the infraction, whether or not it was voluntary.

We know that it is not easy to give an exact definition of taboo, for the subject is vast and far reaching.

A taboo does not involve merely the obligatory respect due to traditional customs and practices or the observance of sacred rules, but also a group of prohibitions and interdictions dealing with an object or an animal which may not be touched, which may not be eaten, and which may not be looked at (1).

1. Let us add that in certain cases portents and taboos are identified with each other in the minds of the Blacks, as we have stated above.

What is taboo to one person is not taboo to another.

● 262 784 As for taboos dealing with animals whose flesh is impure and may not be eaten, the rule is not the same for everyone.

With the single exception of cows, the flesh of all animals is forbidden to women.

Mutton is taboo to certain clans, while goat meat is forbidden to others.

Fish and wild boars are forbidden to the Banyarwanda with the exception of riverain people and hunters. Hares, partridges, ducks, and guinea fowl are included among the impure animals (2) /410/

2. Children sometimes eat them in secret.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat
● [262] sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/, their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for

234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as
272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following

[524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of
[539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the

[687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

• 262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow

237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

Sacred Cows

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778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyambga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

[648] The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: abalandwa nk'imbwa, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

614 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confi-
628 dence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more con-
267 spicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 THE Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[33] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[33] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 52 f.

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irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

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sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour. True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Otherwise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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